

THE
QUESTION
OF
Witchcraft
DEBATED;

Or a discourse against their
Opinion that affirm
WITCHES.

Cic. Lib. 2. de Divinat.

*Nam ut verè loquamur, superstitio fusa
per orbem oppressit omnium fere animos,
atq; hominum occupavit imbecillitatem.*

For to speak the truth, superstition having
over-run the world, hath dastarded
almost every one's spirit, taking its ad-
vantage from the frailty of man.

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Wagstaffe, John

THE
P R E F A C E.

THe zealous affirm-
ers of Witch-
craft, think it no
slander, to charge
all those who deny it with
Atheism. As if forsooth
the denial of Spirits, and
of God did necessarily fol-
low the denial of *Witches*:
An error so gross, that it
doth

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should grant their contracts
with men and women.
For these contracts being
not to be known, but by
their effects, I see no reason
to acknowledge them, un-
less any one will under-
take to give a good account
of their effects. Which as
yet I see no one hath done,
neither from Scripture, nor
History, nor solid reason:
for I do not at all value Pla-
tonick dreams, similitudes,
and fabling whimsies.

By J. W.

THE
QUESTION
OF
Witchcraft
Debated.

CHAP. I.

*That the Bible hath been falsly
translated in those places
which speak of Witchcraft.*



That absolute and unlimited
power, with which the
Eastern Nations were al-
wayes govern'd, did re-
quire not only the force of Arms,
B but

but the craft also and tricks of superstition to uphold it: Nor indeed were standing Armies of greater use unto the Oriental Monarchs, for keeping of their people in awe, then Idols were and Priests, and the various impostures used by them. So various, that to enumerate every particular way of delusion, insisted on by the Heathen Priests of old, is a very difficult task to perform. Wherefore in regard it belongs unto my present purpose and design, to treat of them only so far as they comprehend all that notion of a *Witch*, which may be found in Scripture; I shall in order thereunto, reduce them unto these four general Heads, of *Juggling*, *Inchanting*, *Conjecturing*, *Divining*.

Jugglers were such as performed strange things in the sight of the common people, to their admiration and astonishment. This they did, either by *Leger de maine*, that is, slight

flight of hand; or else by *Magick*, that is, skill in Natural Philosophy; or lastly, by a *Familiar*, that is, a confederated person privy to the plot, and assistant to the performance.

Inchanters were such as with charms or certain composures and set forms of words, did pretend by vertue thereof, to bless and to curse, to do good and to do hurt, unto the parties for whom those charms were made. Now these two sorts of Impostours may not unaptly be called, the counterfeited *Miracle-mongers* of the Heathens, as the other two that follow may justly be called their false *Prophets*.

Conjecturers, in their guessing at the event of future things, made use of Rules, drawn from their own or other mens observations, about the Stars, about the Fowls of the Air, about the entrails of sacrificed

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crificed Beasts, and about many other things needless here to be reckoned up.

Diviners, whom I here call so by way of eminence, and of distinction from *Conjecturers* (not ignorant that *Divining* taken in a general sense, doth comprehend *Conjecturing* also; I say *Diviners*) pretended to a higher and more infallible kind of Prophecie, receiving forth their Revelations from some Divinity or other; Either from a God, or from a Dæmon, or from the Spirit of a man departed.

Thus did the Heathen Priests, with subtile and sly inventions, magnifie the power of their Idol Gods, and seduce the foolish people to Idolatry. Wherefore these impostures were so hateful in the sight of God, that the *Israelites* are often in the *Mosaical* Law forewarned from them; as being those very abominations, for which the Lord did

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did cast their enemies out of that Land which they were to inherit. But above all places, the eighteenth Chapter of *Deuteronomy* is most remarkable, I mean the ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth verses of that Chapter, which in our English Translation runs thus.

When thou art come into the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not learn to do after the abominations of those Nations.

There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his Son or his Daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth Divinations, or an Observer of times, or an Inchanter, or a Witch,

Or a Charmer, or a Consulter with familiar Spirits, or a Wizard, or a Necromancer.

For all that do these things are an abomination unto the Lord; and because of these abominations, the

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Lord thy God shall drive them out from before thee.

Now this place in *Deuteronomy*, is therefore highly to be considered as to my present purpose, in regard there is not a word in the Bible importing *Witchcraft*, in any other sense then the words of the tenth and eleventh verses do. Wherefore if we consider things aright, *Witchcraft* is not to be found in Scripture, this being the true translation of those two verses.

Let there not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his Daughter pass through the fire, or that useth Divinations, or a Stargazer, or a Conjecturer, or a Miracle-monger,

Or an Inchanter, or a seeker of an Oracle, or a Wizard, or a Necromancer.

Here are to be seenthree notorious mistakes of our English Translatours. The first is their calling a

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Conjecturer an *Inchanter*, which why they should I cannot at all imagine, there being not the least hint of such a signification in the Hebrew word *מנחם*. Far better was it rendered in the old Translation, *a regarder of the flying of Fowls*, for that is truth, although it be not all the truth: The flight of Fowls being but one way of many, which *Conjecturers* made use of. Whereas on the contrary to call a *Conjecturer* an *Inchanter*, hath not the least spark of truth in it: An *Inchanter* being the same with a *Charmer*, which follows in the next verse, and is in the Hebrew *חנן* a word derived from *חנן* to speak, pronounce or declare; and not from the same word, as it signifies to joyn to, or be in league with; from whence some fondly imagine, that an *Inchanter* is one, who hath a league with the Devil.

The second mistake of our

Translatours is, their calling a *Miracle monger* a *Witch*. The Hebrew word is פושע, which the Septuagint renders by the Greek word εἰσπράτης, meaning an impostour, not a poysoner: For it is ridiculous to think, that *Pharaohs Magicians*, *Jezabel the Queen*, and *King Manasses*, did exercise the Art of poysoning. Thus in the eighteenth Chapter of the *Revelations* and the twenty third verse; The word εἰσπράτης is neither taken for *Witchcraft*, nor poysons, but for impostures: Though our Translatours have rendred it *Witchcraft*. Now these *Miracle-mongers*, or Juggling workers of counterfeited miracles are therefore so severely prohibited in that Law of *Moses*, because they acted strange things in the sight of the people, to confirm them in false Religions. Hence it is, that in the old Testament, where mention is made of Idolatry, you shall frequently

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requently meet with *Miracle-Mongers* and *Soothsayers* coupled together. For the *Preists* of an *Idol* would commonly advance its reputation, by counterfeiting the gifts of *Prophecy* and working *Miracles*, pretendedly received from that *God*, to whose honour the *Idol* was erected. Nor let any one think, that for the performance of these *counterfeit-Miracles*, they stood in need of the devils assistance, for what they performed, either exceeded not the compass of humane Art, although miraculous in the eyes of the *Vulgar*: Or if it did, then it was not really performed, but a meer *Juggling* imposture. Such kind of *Jugglers* were those, who stood before *Pharaoh* in opposition to *Moses* and *Aaron*. For whosoever beleives that *Pharaoh's Magicians* could by the help of *Devils* turn in an instant a stick into a *Serpent*, he doth ascribe unto the *Devil* an omnipotent

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nipotent creating power, equal unto his who did but say, let such a thing be, and it was so. St. *Augustine* I confess doth seem to endeavour the evading of this objection by laying down for a maxime, That in the Elements do secretly lye hid the seeds of all bodies, which when they meet with convenient opportunities, do put forth themselves, and arise unto the just bounds and figures due unto their respective species. From hence he doth infer that the Devil in turning the *Magicians* Rods into Serpents, did not create those Serpents, because he produced them out of their seeds. But by St. *Augustine's* good leave, though I should grant him that the seed of a Serpent is in a stick, yet I would never grant him, that the *Magicians* could so suddenly bring forth this seed into act, for the production of a Serpent. 'Tis true, that men by their well order-

dering the seeds of Plants, may hasten the generation of such Plants, and the ripening of their fruits. They may also by putting Eggs into *Camels* dung procure the generation of *Chickens*. Wherefore 'tis probable that Devils being more skillful then men, may strangely promote the generation of several creatures, beyond any humane Art. But yet neither men nor Devils, in regard they act these things by the application of Matter to Matter, can produce any creature out of its seed, without a considerable space of time. No, they must attend the Laws of Matter, and wait upon Dame Natures leisure; there being many successive alterations required in seed, before it can come to be the *Embryo* of a creature, and many also must afterwards follow, before that *Embryo* can arrive to a perfect shape. Now many perceiving how difficult it is to affirm,

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firm, that the *Magicians* staffs were turned into Serpents; they affirm that it was not really done, but seemingly so, by a deluding Juggling trick of the Devil, who might convey the staffs away, and slip Serpents in their place. To all such as these I answer, that if they once recede from the letter of the Text, and say, it was a Juggle of the Devil, I may as well say, it was a Juggle meerly of the *Magicians* themselves, who did it by their fly and secret tricks, as the Hebrew word וּמַכֵּי signifies, which our Translators have rendered, *by their Incantments*. Nor let any one wonder that the Scripture should say, the *Magicians* staffs were turned into *Serpents*, in regard the Scripture speaks only according to the deceived apprehension of the standers by. Just so in the case of *Samuel* raised by the *Witch of Endor*, it speaks according

to

to the deceived apprehensions of *Saul* and his followers : For neither that woman, nor all the Devils in Hell could raise *Samuel*, who had been dead and buried almost two years. As for those who fancy that God did then raise *Samuel* ; 'tis a very likely thing indeed, that God should refuse to answer *Saul*, when he consulted him in wayes appointed by himself, and yet should answer him when he consulted in a forbidden way. Besides, if *Samuel* had been raised by God, no doubt he would never have said unto *Saul*, *Why hast thou disquieted me?* for it would have been no disquiet nor trouble unto him, to come upon Gods errand. Some there are who will needs have it to be the Devil in the likeness of *Samuel*, because *Sauls* death was foretold. To this I answer, that 'twas the woman her self, or a person confederated with her, who spake it at a venture,

ture, knowing that Saul was going to fight: But as for the certainty of his death, it could not have been foretold by the Devil himself.

The third error of our Translators is, their mistaking a consulter with Oracles or false Prophets, for a consulter with familiar spirits. The Hebrew words are *חֹזֵן*, which word *Ob* signifies in Scripture, sometimes the gift of *Oracling*, and sometimes the person that hath such a gift. It signifies also a bottle, or hollow vessel, and from this signification, I suppose the other came. For it is certain that *Onacles*, when they pronounced their *Oracles*, did use to counterfeit strange kind of voices, that they might seem not to be humane. To this purpose 'tis not unlikely, that they made use of a bottle, or trunk, or some other hollow vessel, which they spake through, whereby their voices must needs be very much

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much altered, especially if they were in a cave or room underground, when they made answer to enquiries. These kind of cheating tricks are plainly alluded unto by the Prophet *Isaiah* in these words; *And thy voice shall be as of an Oracler out of the earth, and thy speech shall peep out of the dust.* Here I suppose, the Prophet chiefly alludes unto the *Necromantick Oracler*, or one that pretended to consult with the dead: Who himself or his confederate, did therefore counterfeit a voice like the pieeping of a Chicken, that it might the more plausibly seem to be the small voice of a poor departed Ghost. This will appear more plainly, if we consider the nineteenth verse of the eight Chapter of *Isaiah*, according to the Translation of *Jurinus* and *Tremelins*, our own being hardly sense: The words are these, *For when they say unto you, ask coun-*
sel

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*set of Oracles and Soothsayers, who
 peep and mutter; should not a peo-
 ple ask counsel of their God? Should
 they ask counsel of the dead for the
 living? Now as the Oracles, when
 they pretended to receive answers
 from the dead, would peep like
 Chickens; So when they delivered
 the mind of a God, or a Dæmon,
 they counterfeited other-guise
 tones. In which way of counter-
 feiting, some were such excellent
 Artists that they stood in need of no
 instrument to help them; in re-
 gard they could speak with their
 mouths shut, and their voice would
 seem to come out of their bellies, as
 if they had been really possess'd with
 a talking devil: hence they were cal-
 led *Engastrimuthians* by the Greeks,
 as also they were called *Eurycleans*,
 from one *Eurycles* a famous Im-
 postour of this kind. And as *Pla-
 tarch* testifies, these *Engastrimuthi-
 ans* or *Eurycleans*, were anciently
 called*

called *Pythons*: Now *Python* and *Pythonis* in Greek doth exactly render the Hebrew *ob*. Thus if we take *ob* for an *Oracle*, and the Spirit of *Oracling*, we may very commodiously with *Junius* and *Tremelius* translate that passage in the *Chronicles*, concerning *Manasse*, where it is said of him, *why did he make or set up an Oracle*, that is, he ordained or appointed *Oracles*. For the word *gnashab* signifies to make or finish. Wherefore because it would be ridiculous to say, that *Manasse* made familiar Spirits. Our Translatours have altered the true signification of *gnashab*, and translate it, though erroneously, as if it signified to deal with, affirming that *Manasse* dealt with familiar Spirits. But whosoever seriously views and considers that place, he shall find it a meer description of Idolatry, where there is mention of high places and groves, and of

C Altars,

Altars dedicated not only to *Baal*, but unto the whole host of Heaven, as also of the setting up a carved Idol in the very house of God. Wherefore it was suitable to mention also that crew of men who were set apart by *Manasses*, to officiate in this Idolatrous worship; Such as were various sorts of *Oracles*, and *Miracle-Mongers*. But how *Witches* should come in here I cannot tell, no nor how *Devils* neither, unless you be- lieve that *Devils* made answer at the *Heathen Oracles*. Which if you do, for my part I must crave leave to dissent, judging them to be no- thing but the impostures of men. And as *Demosthenes* did wisely ob- serve in his dayes, that the *Delphian Oracle* did *ἐμμανίζετο*, so I am confident if History be true, that the *Hammonean* did *Ἀλεξάνδριζεν*, and that all the rest of the cheating pack did one way or other *Ἀνδραγαθίζεν*.

CHAP. II.

*That the Opinion of Witches
hath had its foundation in
Heathen Fables.*

THUS I have made it appear, how false Prophets and workers of counterfeit *Miracles*, have been mistaken by our Translatours of the Bible for *Witches* and dealers with familiar Spirits; A mistake so gross, that it obscures many things in the Law of *Moses*, as also in the Prophets, where there are several places directly intended against the Heathen religion, especially that of the *Egyptians*. Now such was the vain credulity of men, that they did not only beleive these things were real which the Priests did counterfeit, but they also ascribed unto pri-

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private persons a power equal unto that of the Priests, or rather beyond it. For not only men, but women also, especially old women have been famous for Prophefying of things to come, whence they were called *Sage*, as also for wonderful and miraculous exploits, whence they were called *Lamiae* or *Veneficae*. They were called *Lamiae* chiefly from their exploits upon little Children. For it seems, according to the fable, there was one *Lamia* a beautiful woman in *Lybia*, whom *Jupiter* fell in love with but jealous *Juno* took her children which she had by *Jupiter* and killed them, wherefore she out of meer spite being greived at the killing of her own children, did use to kill the children of other women. They were called *Veneficae*, because they were wont to make use of herbs, which they supposed had strange kind of vertues in them; for
with

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with herbs or Charms they alwayes acted.

(bis,
*Num te carminibus, num te pallentibus her-
Devovit tacito tempore noctis annus?*

Strange it is to consider, how far the folly of men hath proceeded in their beleif concerning the actions both of male and female *Witches*: As if forsooth they could transform men and women into beasts, as if they could destroy the fruits of the earth, and the fruit of the womb, at their pleasure, as if they could raise winds and tempests, or allay them, enable or disenable in matters venereal, In a word, as if they could enslave nature her self, and make the universe obey their commands. Examples of this prodigious power, are scattered up and down the *Roman* Poets, I shall quote some few of them out of *Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Tibullus, Propertius, Lucan.*

Virg. Eclo. 8. *Has herbas, atq; hæc ponto mihi læta venena,
Ipse dedit Maris, nascuntur plurima ponto.
His ego sæpe lupum fieri, & se condere sylvis
Marim, sæpe animas imis excire sepulchris,
Atq; satas aliò vidi traducere messes.*

Virg. lib. 6. Encid. *Quos hominum ex facie, Dea sæva potentibus
Induerat Circe, in vultus ac terga ferarum.* (herbis)

(agnos.)
Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat

Morat. ode ult. *Quæ movere cereas imagines,
Ut ipse nosti curiosus; & polo
Deripere lunam vocibus possum meis,
Possum crematos excitare mortuos,
Desideriq; temperare poculum.*

Ovid Epil. Hypsip. *Illæ reluctantem cursu deducere lunam
Nititur, & tenebris abdere solis equos.
Illæ re-rænat aquas, obliquaq; fulmina sistit,
Illæ loco Sylvas vivaq; saxa movet:
Per tumulos errat, sparsis distincta capillis,
Certaq; de tepidis colligit ossa rogis.
Devoet absentes, simulachraq; cerea figit,
Et miserum tenues in jecur urget acus.*

Concussa; sisto, Ovid lib. 7
Stantia concutio cantu freta, nubila pello, Metamor.
Nubilaq; induco; ventos abigam; vocoq;

Num mea Thessalico languent devota veneno Ovid 3.
Corpora num misero carmen & herba nocent. Amor Eleg
Sagave punicea defixit nomina cerâ 6.

Et medium tennes in jecur urget acus
Carminelâ faceres sterilem vanescit in herbam
Deficiunt læsi Carmine fontis aquæ;
Illicibus glandes cantataq; vitibus uva,
Decidit & nullo poma moriente fluunt;

(artes,
Quid vetat & nervas magicas torpere per
Forsitan impatiens sit latus inde meum.

Cum libet hæc tristi depellit nubila celo, Tibul. lib.
Cum libet æstivo provocat orbe nives. 1. Eleg. 2.

(amores,
Quid credam? Hac eadem nostros se dixit Tibul lib. 1
Cantibus aut herbis solvere posse meos. Eleg. 8.

(quæ
Invidiæ fuimus? num nos Deus obruit? an Propert.
Læta Prometheus dividit herba jugis? lib. 1. Eleg.
12.

Lucan lib. 6. *Cessavere vices rerum, dilataq; longa,
Hæsit nocte dies, legi non paruit Æther;
Torpuit & præceptis audito carmine mundus,
Axibus & rapidis impulsos Jupiter urgens
Miratur non ire polos; Tunc omnia complens
Imbribus, & calido producant nubila Phæbo
Et tonat ignaro Cælum Jove.*

These, and many more instances of the like kind might be produced out of the Heathen Poets, sufficient to testifie the folly of the vulgar Heathens, in their belief concerning the Power of witches. As for the Opinions concerning *Incubi* and *Succubi* Devils, I suppose it had its rise from the Fable of the Ancient *Heroes*, who (as *Socrates* in *Plato's Cratylus* doth affirm) were begotten from the Conjunction of Deities with Humane Creatures; which kind of Conjunction, whosoever believes, his Opinion is base and sottish, and fit only to be a cloak for the Adulteries of the Heathen Priests, who often did lye with other mens Wives, pretending

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tending that the Gods had vouchsafed them the Honour of their Company. Very remarkable to this purpose, is the story of *Tyrannus* a Priest of *Saturn*, who under this pretence made use of many a mans Wife, till at last, one more wise then the rest discovered the cheat. In like manner *Mundus* a Gentleman of *Rome*, by the help of the Priests belonging to the Temple of *Isis*, enjoy'd his pleasure on *Paulina* a *Roman* Lady, who mistook him for the God *Amur*
bis.

Nevertheless, let no one think, that the ingenious Poets did themselves, or any other of the wiser sort of Heathens, believe such ridiculous and absurd fopperies; for on the contrary, when they speak their own minds, and not according to the Fable or Vulgar opinion, they laugh these absurdities to scorn: Thus *Propertius* derides them.

propert. *At vos deducite quibus est fallacia lune,*
 lib. 1. Eleg. *Et labor in magicis sacra piare focis ;*
Enagedum domina mentem convertite nostra
Et facite illa meo palleat ore magis :

Tunc ego crediderim vobis, & sydera & am-
Posse Cyrenis ducere carminibus. (nes

Ovid also is of the same mind, and
 gives no credit to these Cheats.

Ovid de
 mediam
 sacri.

Nec vos graminibus nec misto credite succo,
Nec tentate nocens virus amantis equæ ;
Nec mediae marfis finduntur cantibus angues,
Nec redit in fontes unda supina suos ;
Et quamvis aliquis Temesæa removerit æra,
Nunquam Luna suis excutietur equis.

Ovid lib.
 2. de Arte
 Amand.

Fallitur æmonias si quis decurrit ad artes,
Datq; quod a teneri fronte revellit equi ;
Non facient ut vivat amor Medeides herba,
Mixtaq; cum magicis mersa venena sonis.

Ovid lib. 1.
 de Remed.
 Amor.

Quid te Phasiacæ juverunt gramina terre,
Cum cuperes patriâ Colchi manere domo ?
Quid tibi profuerint Circe Perseides herba,
Cum tibi Neritias abstulit aura rates ?

Ergo

*Ergo quisquis opem nostra tibi poscis ab arte, Ibid.
Deme veneficiis carminibusq; fidem.*

But *Horace* excellently, and like himself, layes it down as a mark or sign of ones proficiency in moral Phylosophy, if he had learnt to despise and laugh at these kind of Fables,

*Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas, Hor. Epist.
Nocturnos lemures, portentaq; Thessala rides? ult.*

In like manner *Seneca* reproving the credulous simplicity of elder times, shews what Opinion he himself was of: His words are these, *Et Sen. lib. 4.
apud nos in lege duodecim Tabularum Nat. Quæst
cavetur, ne quis alienas fruges excantasset; Rudis adhuc antiquitas credebat, & attrahi imbres cantibus & repelli, quorum nihil posse fieri tam palam est, ut ejus rei causâ nullius Philosophi schola intranda sit.* In a word, I might here instance in other of the Ancients, as in *Hypocrates* and *Lucian*

Lucian, the one deriding the other seriously disputing against Magick cheats : But I shall conclude with the judgement of *Nero* the Emperour, who had wit enough, who had Men, Books, Money, I had almost said, the World at his command, so that he could want no helps for the promoting his desires. This *Nero*, ambitious of being Chief in every thing, especially desiring to Command the Gods as well as men, did in order thereunto eagerly apply himself to the study of Magick, which after his utmost endeavours, he forsooke and despised, finding it to be vain, and to promise that which it cannot perform.

CHAP. III.

*That it hath been improved by the
Papal Inquisitours, seeking
their own private gain, as also
to establish the usurped Domi-
nion of their Founder.*

NOW one would think, that these
kind of Heathenish Fables and
Follies, although they took root in
the minds of the Christian vulgar,
should never have been assented
unto by those who account them-
selves Rabbies and Doctors of the
people; yet I'll assure ye, there is
hardly any thing which I have quo-
ted out of the Poets, that hath not
been declared true, by the Inquisi-
tion and by the Canon Law: As any
one may see, who will take the pains
to

to consult several Popish writings ; such as the Bull of Pope *Innocent* the Eighth, directed to the Inquisitors of *Almaine*, the *Malleus Maleficarum* of *Jacobus Sprengerus* the *Formicarum* of *Johannes Niderus*, as also *Bartholomaeus Spineus de Strigibus*, *Paulus Grillandus de Sortilegiis*, and (to mention no more) *Martin Delrio* the Jesuit's *Disquisitiones Magicae*, who hath written largely upon this subject.

Nor have they been content to assert the Fables of the Heathens only without the addition of many more of their own ; for they confidently assert, that Witches make a Contract with the Devil, wherein they renounce their Baptism, and the Christian Faith ; as also they engage to slight and to despise the Virgin *Mary*, to trample upon the sign of the Cross, Images and Reliques of Saints, Holy water, Salt, Wax-Candles, & other things Hallowed by the Church

Church; to undervalue the seven Sacraments, and particularly not to Adore the Consecrated Host. They also engage to be ready at all times to make their appearance at the solemn Conventicles of Witches, where they dance and feast, and adore the Devil who is present amongst them. Which mad kind of revelling, without doubt, as *Cardan* hath well observed, is grounded upon the ancient Heathen *Orgia*. To these Conventicles, the Witches are said to come from far distant Countries, being carried through the Air, for which strange passage, they prepare their bodies with I know not what kind of oyntment; but I suppose it is made of the same ingredients, as that was, which turned *Lucian* into an Ass. Nor must ye doubt the Truth of these things, which the Holy Inquisition hath in several Countries at several tryals of witches found to be true, as well from the testimony

testimony of Witnesses, as also from
 the self Confession of Delinquents.
 But because the Inquisitors of He-
 retical Pravity (for so they are sty-
 led) have been pleased to vent these
 things into the world; It may not be
 amiss, nor besides our present pur-
 pose, to enquire into the Inquisitors
 themselves. The first time that I can
 hear Newes of them in History, is in
 days of *Maximus*, who contended the
 with *Theodosius* for the Empire:
 Though I confess an Inquisition was
 then but intended, not brought
 to effect. This *Maximus* was the
 first who put Hereticks to death,
 namely *Priscilian* and his Partners;
 by the perswasion of one *Itacius*,
 and if it had not been for St. *Mar-*
tin, he would have sent Tribunes in-
 to *Spain*, with power to enquire or
 search for Hereticks, and to take a-
 way their lives and goods. In pro-
 cess of time, *Charlemain*, who was
 Crowned Emperour in the Eight
 hundred

hundredth year after Christ, did by his Laws or Capitulars, declare the the Bishop of *Rome* to be Head of the Church. These Laws were therefore called Capitulars, because they were little Heads or Chapters extracted out of the Ancient Fathers and Councils : Nevertheless all those Capitulars which concerned the *Roman* Supremacy, were extracted out of counterfeit Authors, that cheat being put upon him by the Bishops of *Mentz*. About three hundred years afterwards, in the year One thousand one hundred twenty two, the Emperour *Henry* the fifth, was forced to resign his Power of Electing and Investing Bishops with the Staff and Ring into the hands of the Church; of which the *Roman* Bishop, being the publicly acknowledged and declared Head, did by this means obtain a greater Empire and power, then ever the *Roman* *Cæsars* had. This being perceived

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ceived by the *Germane* Emperours, there was almost perpetual contention and war between them and the Bishops of *Rome* : But especially *Frederick* the second, who flourisht in the beginning of the thirteenth Century, spent most of his Reign, and his utmost Endeavours, to take down the Church from overtopping the Empire. Nevertheless it was in his Reign, that the *Roman* Bishops did notably provide, for the security of their exorbitant power ; Then it was, that *Frederick* the Second, when he was at *Padua*, made those unhappy Laws, whereby Hereticks were liable to the punishment of death, of which Laws the Popes made very great advantage. Then it was that *Gregory* the ninth advanced the Authority of Canon or Pontifical Laws, by composing the Decretals with the help of his Chaplain *Raymund*. Lastly, then it was, that the Orders of *Dominican* and *Franciscan*

Franciscan Fryers were founded, to whom was committed the Inquisition after Hereticks.

Now these *Monks* at their first setting up for Inquisitors, as Father *Paul* hath observed, in his History of the Inquisition, had no Tribunal or Court of their own, but did onely preach, and stir up Princes and People, engaging them into *Crusadoes* against Hereticks, by sewing a piece of red cloth in the form of the Cross upon their Garments : But *Innocent* the fourth, who began his Pontificate about the latter end of *Frederick* the second, observing the notable zeal of these Fryars, thought good to erect a Tribunal for them, that so they themselves might proceed to the Tryal of Hereticks. To bring this about, he had a fair opportunity upon the death of *Frederick*, by reason of the vacancy that then happened in the Empire many years. For now having no Empe-

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rour to controul him in *Italy*, he took the confidence to impose the Inquisition upon three several Provinces, (*viz.*) *Lombardia*, *Romaniela* and *Marchia Tervisina*. There are extant several Bulls, written by *Innocent* the fourth unto the Magistrates of those Countries : One where he sets down the forementioned Laws of *Frederick* against Hereticks word for word, and commands them to be strictly observed : Nor can I blame him, for holding his Ecclesiastical Empire upon no other Title then the pretense of Religion. To be a Heretick must needs be the same thing to him, and his Successours, as to be a Traytor is to Temporal Princes. There is another Bull of his, wherein he enjoynes the Magistrates of the aforesaid Countries, to observe several Articles or Constitutions relating to the Inquisition; In which Articles, amongst other things, he ordains, that the Inqui-
sitors

sitors shall have their Charges defrayed out of the goods of persons condemned; and this way of satisfying the Inquisitors, he ordains in another peculiar Bull for that purpose. Hence it came to pass, that when the Inquisition had gotten foot in many Kingdomes and Countries, an incredible number of people were frequently tormented and burnt for the Crime of Witchcraft; which they had so entwisted with Heresie, or the denial of Pontifical Authority, that in seeking out Witches, in tormenting and putting them to death, they did at once gratifie, as well the ambition and usurped Power of their Lord the Pope, as their own insatiable covetousness, and thirst after other mens goods. In the year One thousand five hundred and eighteen, the Inquisitors put to death a great many Inchanters, which they had found out forthwith in the *Venetian* Territories :

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Where such was the Extortion and Covetousness in their proceedings, that the Country rose up against them, and the Council after at *Venice* was fain to send for these Inquisitors to enquire into their proceedings; yet do what they could, the enraged people were hardly to be appeased. In the same year, I suppose it was, that upon the like occasion of the Countries Rising against an Inquisitor, and carrying him to the Bishop, *Alciat* a famous Civil Lawyer gave his ingenious answer to the Bishop, who askt his advice herein, as may be seen in *Alciats Parerga*, where he handsomly describes the vain and monstrous credulity of some Divines in this question of Witchcraft. *Nicolaus Remigius* a *Lorrain* Judge, doth confess, that in the time of his Judicature, in the space of sixteen years, there was about eight hundred Witches put to death, besides as many more that escaped,

escaped, either by timely running away, or by a constant enduring of torture. In a word, after the founding of the *Dominican* and *Franciscan* Fryars, and the setting up an Office of Inquisition, the world grew so full of Devils and Witches, that I am prone to assent unto the judgement of *Cardan*, who handling this business of Witches and Witchfinders, observ'd it to be full of Covetousness and folly, as any one may read in his Book, *De Varietate Rerum*.

CHAP. IV.

Arguments to prove, that there is no such thing as a Witch in Scripture ; and Arguments to prove that there is no such thing as a Witch at all.

BY this time methinks it plainly appears, out of the preceding Discourse, that the notion of a Witch, as it is taken now adayes, hath no foundation at all in Scripture ; but had its Original, or first Rise, out of the Heathenish Fables, and was afterwards improved by Papal impostures. Nevertheless, to give further satisfaction, I shall produce some arguments to prove, first, That a Witch is not to be found in Scripture : Secondly, That there is

no

no such thing as a Witch at all.

The first Argument shall be taken from the difference, between our vulgarly reputed Witches, and those which our Translatours of the Bible call so; for whom I pray do our Translatours call Witches, but the Kings and Queens and Princes of the Earth, as also the Priests and Phylosophers and wise men of this world? Whereas the Witches now adayes are poor, silly, contemptible people; for instead of such as King *Manasses*, and Queen *Jesabel*, we now hear talk of this old Gammer and that old Goodwife. It seems the Kingdome of darkness is quite altered in its Politicks, and the Devil is not so wise as some men make him, if this Opinion of Witchcraft be true.

The second Argument shall be taken from the *Sadduces*, a famous Sect amongst the Jews, who denied Spirits, and the Resurrection of the dead; yet had the five Books of
Moses

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Moses in high esteem and regard: Wherefore either they did not understand Hebrew, or if they did, the notion of Witchcraft doth not appear in *Moses*: And if this be once granted, I suppose the other parts of the Bible will easily follow: But perhaps you'll object and say, that the *Sadduces* were a Sect after the Captivity, which kept the Jews so long in *Babylon* that they forgot their own Tongue; and that the *Jews* after their Return into *Judea*, spake not the *Hebrew* but the vulgar *Syrian*. To this I answer, That when the Sect of the *Sadduces* took its beginning is uncertain, and that however the Common People did forget the Old *Hebrew*, yet the Priests did alwayes preserve its knowledge. Now that Priests themselves were *Sadduces* is manifest, for even the High Priest *Joseph Hyrcanus* was one of that Sect, as *Josephus* Testifies.

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The third and last Argument shall be taken from the different practises ascribed unto our vulgarly supposed Witches, and unto those in our Translation of the Bible: For our modern Witches practise a secret occult Art, and 'tis a great Art to discover them, by several strange signs and horrid tortures: But those whom our Translators call Witches in the Bible, were such as practised what they did openly, and in the face of the world, making publick profession of their Art, which was as I have already made it appear, the Counterfeit Art of Prophesying and working Miracles. But alas! had it been this mysterious Art of contracting with the Devil, and of using his power, the Professors whereof are so clandestine in their wayes, that they can hardly be discovered by various scrutinies and inquiries. How impossible a thing had it been, for *Saul* to turn them all out of *Israel*,

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rael, as we read he did, 1 *Sam.* 28. This I am sure of, a Proclamation now adayes set out to that purpose, would avail nothing, and only serve to move the laughter of those who stood by to hear it.

If then there be no such thing as a Witch in Scripture, I shall make use of that as the first argument, to prove that there is no such thing as a Witch at all. Nor let any one that abounds with words, and his own sense, immediately cry out; then there is no such River as *Thames*, there is no such Country as *America*, if silence in Scripture serves for an argument. A man may make such instances from morning to night, and make a great noise to no purpose; as if there were no difference between those things which lye quite besides the scope of the Scriptures notice, and those things which if they be true, the Scriptures could not be silent of, without the charge of imperfection.

imperfection. Let any one but read the Law of *Moses*, and then seriously consider, why it should be so severe against incestuous and bestial Concubinage, and yet not so much as mention diabolical. The Jewes were forbid to meddle with strange women of other Nations, and should there be no caution given against their meddling with strange creatures, as it were of another world? Mark how curious the Law is in matters of uncleanness, and shall an ordinary running Issue be so much talkt of, and no mention made of Teats running with blood and suckt by Devils? Lastly, that Law which by its years of Jubilee, and several other Constitutions, provided more against oppression and cruelty then any other Law in the world; That Law which so detested the murther of men, that it made them merciful to their neighbours beasts; (I say that Law) could never pass over
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in silence, the cruel and abominable actions of Witches against both man and beast. Without question, it would have inflicted upon them the severest punishments; & for the discovery of their secret and devilish contracts, it would have laid down sufficient marks for tryal; especially since in a far less matter of adultery, it made use of that horrible and amazing tryal, by the bitter water which caused the Curse.

Secondly, I argue from the miserable poverty of our vulgarly reputed Witches, that they are wrongfully accused: For I am not willing to believe, that they have such a power with the Devil, as to make him do wonderful things at their command, when they never command him to fetch them money, and to fetch them bread; indeed in the night time he carries them I know not whither, and there they meet with great variety of imaginary mirth

mirth and feasting. Now such as their Feast is, so is their Witchcraft, not real, but imaginary, as only existing in the foolish fancies of men.

In the third place, I charge those who obstinately maintain there are Witches, either with irrationality or impiety; For 'tis irrational to think, that the Devils are Creatures full of malice, and breathing nought but mischief against the whole Race of man, and that they suffer a man to live, when they can so easily kill us at the command of a Witch. But if you evade this, by saying, that Devils cannot hurt us without Gods permission; then I say 'tis impious to concern the Great God with Witchcraft. 'Tis true indeed, he may send Death and Diseases amongst the Sons of men, to punish them for their sins at his own pleasure; but that he should do so, at the desire of the Devil, upon the command

command of a Witch, is such a gratification of malice, as is far from God to perform. *Calvin* in his Sermons on the two first Chapters of *Job*, takes a great deal of pains to explode this Opinion of Gods permission, and shews by several examples of *Absolom*, *Ahab*, and *Nebuchadnezzar*, that God doth not barely permit, but orders and determines the actions of Devils and wicked men; affirming that if Asses could speak, they would speak wiser then those men, who talk of Gods permitting: Nor will he grant, that God afflicted *Job* upon Satans request, but because he himself had so determined to try *Jobs* Patience.

Lastly, the vanity and falseness of their Opinion, who believe there are Witches, appears from nothing more then from this, that it ascribes unto the Devil an Omnipotent Power: Insomuch, that no rational man by
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the light of reason, shall be able to tell from the History of the Gospel, whether Christ were a Witch or no; for let some men think what they please, the Holiness of his Doctrine is not the thousandth part such a proof of his acting by a Divine Power, as the miraculousness of his works. But alas! what were his Miracles, or how were they to be valued, if in malicious Creatures, without a Divine Commission enabling them thereto, can make Frogs and Serpents, raise the dead, give Law unto the winds and Seas; to mention no more of those prodigious works ascribed unto Devils upon the account of Witchcraft? For my part, I believe that Devils are aerial creatures; and though they may have more skill, agility and strength, then men, yet that they act as men do, by applying of natural agents and patients to one another in this sublunary world: But as for the world

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Ætherial and Cælestial, I suppose they have no power there; consequently, that in spite of them, the wind bloweth where it listeth, and that the seasons of the year, as also the fruits of the earth, are neither promoted nor hindered by them, but immediately depend upon the motions and mutual aspects of the glorious cælestial stars, that are no way obnoxious to diabolical powers. They who think otherwise, let them consider how near they approach unto the Opinion of the *Persians*, who held there were two great Beings, both Almighty, both at mutual and perpetual war; one, the Author of all good, the other, of all evil: The good Principle they called *Oromasdes*, and the evil one *Arimanius*. Of the same Opinion were the *Ægyptians*, as appears by *Osiris* and *Typhon*; from them *Pythagoras* conveyed it to *Greece*. In a word, the whole Heathen world seems to have
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been infected with this conceit, believing infernal as well as supernal Gods; and therefore they had sacrifices, as well to appease the anger, and to avert the mischiefs of the one, as to propitiate and procure the blessings of the other. Nor can those Christians be excused from the same infection, who upon the account of Witchcraft, attribute omnipotency to the Devil; for what less do they believe, concerning the Prince of the Devils, and of his power? If according to them, he can command the influence of the Sun, and govern the motion of the Stars; if he can open the bowels of the earth, and cause the vapours to ascend in clouds into the middle Region of the Air, and thence again descend upon the earth, in thunder and lightning, and violent storms; if he can transform men and women into Cats, and if he can Frogs and Serpents create.

Wherefore I conclude, it was a very seasonable decree, made by the Council of *Ancyra*, more ancient then the *Nicene* Council; wherein they declare unto all Christians, the Heathenishness of this belief and opinion: Their words are these; *Illud etiam non est omittendum, quod quodam sceleratæ mulieres retro post Satanam conversæ, demonum illusionibus & phantasmatibus seductæ, credunt & profitentur, se nocturnis horis, cum Dianâ Paganorum Deâ, vel cum Herodiade, & innumera multitudine mulierum, equitare super quasdam bestias, & multa terrarum spatia intempestæ noctis spatio pertransire, ejusq; jussionibus velut Domina obedire, & certis nodibus ad ejus servitium evocari: Sed utinam hæc solæ in sua perfidia periissent, & non multos secum in infidelitatis interitum pertraxissent: Nam innumera multitudo hac falsa opinione decepta, hæc vera esse credit, & credendo*

recte

rectâ fide deuiat, & in errore Paganorum revolvitur, cum aliquid divinitatis aut numinis extra unum Deum arbitratur. Quapropter sacerdotes per Ecclesias sibi commissas, populo omni instantiâ prædicare debent, ut noverint hec omnimodis esse falsa, & non a Divino sed a maligno spiritalia phantasmata, mentibus fidelium irrogari. Siquidem ipse Satanus qui transfigurat se in Angelum lucis, cum mentem cuiusq; mulierculæ caperit, & hanc sibi per infidelitatem subjugaverit, illico transformat se in diversarum personarum species atq; similitudines, & mentem quam captivam tenet in somnis deludens, modo leta, modo tristia, modo cognitus, modo incognitus personas ostendens, per devia quaq; deducit. Et cum solus spiritus hoc patitur, Infidelis mens hoc non in animo, sed in corpore opinatur evenire. Quis enim non in somnis & nocturnis visionibus extra se educitur, & multa videt dormiendo, quæ nun-

quam viderat vigilando. Quam vero tam stultus & hebes est, qui hac omnia quæ in solo spiritu sunt, etiam in corpore accidere arbitretur; cum Ezechiel Propheta visiones Domini in spiritu, non in corpore, vidit? Et Johannes Apostolus Apocalypsis, Sacramentum in spiritu, non in corpore, vidit, & audivit, sicut ipse dicit, statim inquit fui in spiritu. Et Paulus non audet dicere se raptum in corpore. Omnibus itaque publice annuntiandum est, quod qui talia & his similia credit, fidem perdit; & qui fidem rectam in Domino non habet, hic non est ejus, sed illius in quem credit, id est, Diaboli. Nam de Domino nostro scriptum est, Omnia per ipsum facta sunt. Quisquis ergo credit posse fieri aliquam creaturam, aut in melius, aut in deterius immutari, aut transformari in aliam speciem vel similitudinem, nisi ab ipso Creatore qui omnia fecit, & per quem omnia facta sunt, procul dubio infide-

lis est, & Pagano deterior. 'Tis true indeed, the Pontifical Authors make a great stir in their Answers to this decree of the *Ancyran* Council; sometimes endeavouring to evade its force with their absurd interpretations, sometimes to throw dirt into the face of the Council, as if it were not to be regarded: But *Alciat* in his *Parerga* doth ingeniously confess, that in these their answers, *Nec Cælum, nec Terram attingunt*, they have neither head nor taylor. And which is more to be wondred at, *Martin Delrio* the Jesuite is in this point so ingenious, as to dissent from *Baronius*, who judgeth that this Council was held at *Rome*, under *Damascus*, in the dayes of *St. Hierome*: *Delrio* for sundry reasons, believing it to have been really held at *Ancyra*, the *Metropolis* of *Galatia*, according to the common assertion of those who collected the ancient Cannons.

Now this Decree of the *Ancyran* Council, was the more seasonable, in regard that a little before, *Manes* or *Manichæus* had spread abroad the Christian world, that old Heathenish Doctrine of the two Principles, one of good, and the other of evil: and it is remarkable, that Witches and *Manichæans* are coupled together, by the Emperours *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, in their Rescript to *Julian* the Proconsul of *Africa*, de *Maleficis & Manichæis*, as it is cited out of the *Gregorian Code* by *Rufinus* in his Collation of the Jewish with the *Roman Lawes*. About a hundred years after, and somewhat more, *Priscillian* and his followers did in a great measure embrace the Doctrine of *Manes*; insomuch, that in the year five hundred sixty three, there was a Council held at *Bracara*, a town of *Gallicia* in *Spain*, against the *Priscillianists*. In the Decrees of this Council, *Manes* and *Priscillian*

Priscillian are frequently joyned together, for their foolish conceits concerning the power of the Devil, or evil Principle; but especially they have one Decree, very considerable to our present purpose, wherein they anathematize all those, who believe that the Devil can make any Creature, or so much as raise storms and tempests by his own authority or power; the words are these, *Si quis credit, quod aliquantas in mundo creaturas Diabolus fecerit, & tonitrua, & fulgura, & tempestates, & siccites, ipse Diabolus sua autoritate faciat, sicut Priscillianus dixit, Anathema sit*: Wherefore if the Devil cannot raise thunder and lightning and tempests by his own power, he did no more in the case of *Job*, then *Eliab*, or any mortal man may do, when he receives a commission from God. Hence I infer, that the Doctrine of Witchcraft, magnifying the Diabolical Power beyond its due proportion

proportion, doth savour too rankly of *Priscillian* and *Manes*, and the Heathen world.

CHAP. V.

*An Answer to their Arguments
who endeavour to prove there
are Witches.*

ANd now it is worth the while to consider, what these men can say for themselves, who so obstinately maintain there are Witches. For they being on the affirmative part, are bound by the Lawes of disputation, to prove what they affirm; and 'tis sufficient for their adversaries to confute their proofs: But alas! these men are generally ignorant of the History of Ages that are gone and past, and of the Scriptures also, as to what concerns the question in hand:

Wherefore

Wherefore they are wont to wave arguments, and to cry out, this is a question not to be disputed on, in regard it is a matter of fact, and consequently the object of sense, not of reason. Thus when they are got to their Castle of defence, they make a great noise, and cry out upon the unreasonableness of those men, who will not believe what so many worshipful persons in the world have heard and seen. And what is that I pray? Why they have heard Trumpets sound, and Drums beat, when neither Trumpeter nor Drummer have been near the place. They have seen chairs and stools move up and down a room, when no body toucht them, and many other things as strange. Thus will they tell stories of this nature from morning to night if you please, though when they have done, they say nothing to the purpose. For suppose that all these stories were unquestionably true,

true, yet they would not suffice to prove Witchcraft. I confess indeed they would evince the being of Spirits, a thing which no wise man can deny, though he doth not believe it: For it is one thing to doubt, and another to deny. For my own part I firmly believe, there are many thousands of spirits, made of an incorporeal matter, too fine to be perceived by the senses of men. Nor will I gain-say the Authority of so many in the world, who affirm they have seen and heard the strange things which I just now mentioned; supposing that these spirits may often play mad pranks amongst us. But still I demand a reason, why I should believe that they do so, upon the account of a Contract made with any man or woman; for till this is proved, the question of Witchcraft stands unconcerned.

Well

Well then, how do the affirmers of it go about to prove, that any man or womans interested in these Devilish pranks? why truly by telling such stories as these; namely, that persons tormented by Devils, have fallen into their fits, at the sight, or upon the touch of suspected Witches: As also that persons thus tormented, have seen the suspected Witches in this or that place of a room, where no body else could see any thing at all; that the standers by, having stroke with Swords or Knives at the places where the Witches were said to be; the bewitched parties have cryed out, that the Witches were wounded in such and such parts of their bodies, though their bodies were then many miles distant; and that some immediately, going to their habitations to see, have found it true.

Now

Now here it is to be observed, that these kind of stories are far different from those which I said before did evince the being of Spirits; for they are attested by numerous authorities, and worthy of credit: But these are quite contrary, and are founded partly in the juggling delusions of confederated impostors, partly again in the errors or ridiculous mistakes of vulgar rumours: Just as the City of London, hath been confidently reported to be attempted with a Fire-ball, when a poor Link-boy knocking of his Link, had left part of its flames blazing in a door. Nevertheless, that I may not be too strict with my adversaries, and to do them a courtesie merely for the disputation sake, I dare not if I grant, that some of these stories are true, Namely, that there have been persons vexed by Devils at the sight, or upon the touch of suspected Witches, and quiet again when they

were

were parted; for though I should grant this, I see no reason yet to grant there are Witches, but rather to conclude, that these spirits, who are so frolick and gamesome in doing us mischief, when they perceive persons suspected to have set them awork, may on purpose so mannage their malicious tricks, as to confirm the suspection, promote the accusation, procure the condemnation of these miserable wretches, and then may count this the cream of their malicious jest, or the height of their frolick, to see poor innocent people hang'd. Now this answer of mine, although it be needless, and *ex-abundanti*, is far more easie and unconstrained, then any thing that the contrary opinion shall answer to those objections, which may be made against that absurd and ridiculous conceit, of wounding the Witches body at many miles distance.

Again

Again, they are wont to say, for the proof of Witchcraft, that immediately upon the threatning or cursing, used by this or that person, such or such an accident hath hapned to the party so threatned and cursed. Those men would do well to consider, that this world hath stood many thousands of years, and is of vast extent, containing many Countries or Nations full of men, and with diverse interests and passions; wherefore it is not to be wondered at, if there hath often hapned in it a notable concurrence of events. 'Tis certain, that poor old people when they are abused by the insulting petulancy of others, being unable to right themselves either at Law or at Combate, for want of money and strength of body, do often times vent the passion of their discontented souls in threats and curses. 'Tis also certain, that many men troubled with Diseases of the head

head, or Diseases of the heart, do seem to be in perfect health, and yet fall down dead on a sudden. Now if these two accidents should meet together, I should see nothing but what is natural, nor should I cry out upon the Devil and Witchcraft.

But methinks I hear some men object and say with a great deal of vehemence and confidence; what need there be any dispute about these stories, since parties themselves have confessed their own Witchcraft; and can there be any thing clearer then self-confession?

To this I answer, that the wisest men in the world, may by imprisonment and torture be brought to confess any thing, whether it be true or false; as many miserable Creatures, confessing themselves Witches, have had their Confessions extorted from them by such cursed means. Besides, I do not doubt, but some poor, silly, melancholick old wretches, have

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really

really believed themselves Witches, and to be guilty of those actions, which not only their foolish neighbours, but worshipful men in the world have charged them with. Nor is it to be wondred at by any one that considers the strange effects of melancholly, especially if it hath been heightened by poverty, or want of good diet, by ignorance, solitariness, and old age: For that such kind of people take their very dreams to be real visions and truths, I am sure, not only by consequences drawn from their actions reported in Books, but by the experience also of my own acquaintance. The truth is, want of knowledge in the Art of Physick makes men attribute unto Spirits meer natural distempers: Nay, Physicians themselves, who have excellently laboured in Anatomy and Chymistry, perhaps have added little or nothing to the Diagnostick part of Diseases, so happily
begun

begun by *Hippocrates* : Hence it is, that we are still in the dark as to the abstruser distempers of humane bodies, especially such as arise from melancholly; which are of so many sorts, and have such wonderfull effects, that whosoever should rightly describe them, and make them plainly manifest, he would discover unto us an unknown world, full of unheard of prodigious monsters.

Thus I have sufficiently answered the most material objections, not thinking it worth the while to insist upon every trifle, such as this is; why do not you believe that which so many thousands of wise men in the world have believed? Sure they could not all be deceived: As if a man did not trumpet forth his own folly, by such an argument, when the various Religions that have been in the world, are more than enough to convince one, how absurd and ridiculous the wisest of

men are in matters of Opinion or Belief.

CHAP. VI.

How the Opinion of Witches came at first into the World.

BY this time methinks I cannot chuse but wonder at the large spreading of this foolish Opinion amongst men, and its taking such deep root in their minds: But then again, I cease to wonder when I consider with my self, that some men are Knaves, others are Fools, and that all men have fear implanted in them by Nature, the very strongest of all their passions; for although it be an impious saying, and irrational, that fear was the first thing which brought Gods into the world, yet I am apt to believe, it first of all brought

brought in these omnipotent Devils, that contract with Witches : For melanchollick persons being exceeding timorous by Nature, and of exceeding strong imaginations, upon the seeing or hearing of any frightful thing are very prone unto troublesome dreams, and apt to create strange apparitions in their own brains ; which dreams and apparitions, no man in the world shall perswade them to the contrary, but that they are real truths, especially if their melancholly be excessive, and border upon madness : Add hereunto, that other men not addicted to melancholly, may upon sundry occasions meet with apparitions ; namely, sometimes when they are sick of Feavers, sometimes when their minds have been possessed, and their imaginations wrought upon by frightful stories ; and sometimes again, when their eyes being weak, they walk in a thick air towards

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evening by the water side. Not to mention those disturbances which may arise in mens fancies from an inordinate diet, either in quantity or quallity, and from sundry other irregularities, it being easie for a man to be troubled with the Night-mare, before he shall be able to get fast asleep, if he goeth into a cold bed when his body is stiff with cold.

Now that these and many other like occasions did oftentimes present apparitions unto men, was well enough known unto those who governed the ancient world, especially the Eastern parts thereof, for they were wise Politicians, famous in their Generations, and very well experienced in the Nature of Man: wherefore knowing how furious and headstrong a Beast the Multitude is, not to be dealt with unless you come as it were on their blind side, that is, unless you take them by the weakest part, and lay hold on their passion

sion of fear, (I say knowing this) they promoted these fears of the people, and improved them for the designs of Government. Hence it came to pass, that whatsoever was extraordinary in Nature, and apt to astonish, they ascribed unto these Apparitions or Spirits ; Namely, in the starry Heavens, the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, Thunder and Lightning in the Clouds, Pestilential seasons, and seasons of Famine here below, and also the most hideous of Diseases, whether they were strange kind of Tumours in the body, or Convulsion fits, or several sorts of madness, and the like : For the remedying of which disastrous accidents, and the taking away of their malignant effects, many Charms or Spells were ordained, many exorcising or conjuring prayers were invented ; In a word, many Religious Rites or Ceremonies of worship were instituted, with a world of variety

The Question of

riety and fancy. The *Ægyptians*, that ancient and wise people, the very Fathers of learning, had a respect unto these kind of Spirits in their publick worship, as may be gathered from *Plutarch* in his Treatise concerning the decay of *Oracles*, where he brings in this consideration of their Religious Rites, as a probable argument, that they were the first Opiners of *Demons*; I mean, the first that brought in the Opinion of the existence of Devils.

In process of time, these actions of the Priests, and grand Politicians of the world, began to be imitated by private persons, not only men, but women also, such as she was that dwelt at *Endor*; for what will not some attempt to do, when a necessitous poverty doth torment them with a greedy desire of gain? These kind of shirking people, a Generation of impudent Liars, Mountebanks in Divinity and Physick, have
all

all along pester'd the Ages in which they lived. *Hippocrates* treating *mel' ispi's vber*, or the Falling Sickness, hath excellently well described the knavish impostures of some in his times, who to cloak their ignorance of that Disease, pretended it came immediately from the hand of God, and therefore was to be cured with certain expiations and charms. These men, he saith, had nothing but God in their mouths, and yet notwithstanding this holiness, they basely deluded the people with Magick cheats : So also did the Heathen Divines, I mean their pretended Phylosophers, men full of words and beards, who for the love of gain, and a croud of Disciples, would frequently make shew of I know not what sublime kind of knowledge, and intimate acquaintance with the Deity, by vertue whereof, they would undertake to charm and exorcise the evil spirits. *Lucian* in his Dialogue,

Dialogue, Entituled *Philosophers*, lovers of lyes, makes very good sport with these kind of knaves.

Now when Hunger and Covetousness had engaged private persons, in such kind of actions as the Priests were engaged in out of policy, they not enduring to see their Office invaded, did declare unto the World, That all such as invaded sacred things, contrary to the due Rites and Ceremonies, were so far from any Communion with the Gods, that they were rather abandoned by them, and exposed unto the society of evil Spirits; by which Conversation they became full of malice, and all sorts of vice and mischief, like unto the Devils with whom they conversed; for that this was the assertion of the ancient *Chaldean* Priests, is evident in that Treatise of *Jamblichus*, which treats of the mysteries of the *Aegyptians*, *Chaldeans* and *Assyrians*.
And

And thus I suppose I have given a true account of the rise and origine of Witchcraft.

But howsoever this opinion of Witches might probably take its first rise in the Eastern parts, it quickly also came into the West, and there at length it very much prevailed, by reason of the *Platonick* Philosophers : For these men being addicted unto Fabling and Allegorizing, became so vain, as to turn, by an overweening credulity, their Fables and Metaphors into reality. I confess this Doctrine of theirs, that Knowledge and Vertue are the two things which purifie the Soul of man, and bring it into a God-like perfection, is praise-worthy ; As also on the contrary, that Vice and ignorance corrupt men with a Diabolical and Bestial pravity : Nevertheless 'tis not to be endured, that such similitudes as these, should be the ground of asserting some mens
visions

visions and frequent conferences with the Gods, other mens associations and confederacy with Devils: For my part, I can see no difference between the actions of the Philosophical Heathen Priest, and the Magician or Witch, but only this, that the one had Law or Authority on his side, the other had not. This is so manifest, that *Valentinian* and *Valery*, though Christian Emperours, were fain to gratifie the greater part of their Subjects, being Heathens, by making a Law, wherein they did vindicate the Religion of their Ancestours, that is the Heathen, from the foul aspersions of Witchcraft. This Law may be found in the *Theodosian Code*, though it be left out in that of *Justinian*.

In a word, whosoever shall read the *Platonick* writings, he shall find them full of confident Discourse about that which they did not understand, concerning the Gods, Dæmons,

mons, and Spirits of men : Much do they talk of a Familiar Spirit which every man hath, calling it sometimes the *ὁ ἑταῖρος*, sometimes *ὁ συνωγ*, sometimes the *ὁ ἐπιληχὼς ἡμῶν δαίμων*. Nor is it to be wondred at, if Christian Authors have too much exceeded on such subjects ; in-regard 'tis well enough known how much the Primitive Christians admired the *Platonick* Sect. Nor is it unlikely, that in their frequent Exorcisings and Conjurations, they did but imitate the *Platonicks*, who themselves did therein but tread the steps of the ancient *Egyptian* Priests : Amongst whom it was usual to Conjure the Devils with strange kind of threats, namely, that if they would not do as the Priests would have them, they would threaten to tear the Heavens asunder, and to reveal the secret of *Isis*, with other threats of the like Nature ; as may be seen in the afore-said Treatise of *Jamblichus*.

CHAP. VII.

The Conclusion.

THUS I have in the first place shewn, that there is no such thing as a Witch in Scripture. Secondly, that it took its beginning from Heathen Fables. Thirdly, that it was afterwards improved by Papal impostures. In the fourth place, I have produced several arguments against the affirmers of Witchcraft. Fifthly, I have answered their Arguments to the contrary. Sixthly and lastly, I have endeavoured to shew by what means this Opinion of Witches came into the world; all which I have handled succinctly, pointing as it were at the heads of things, and leaving it unto some abler pen, to handle this question more

more at large ; A thing which is very useful to be done; for if the Doctrine of Witchcraft should be carried up to a heighth, and the inquisition after it should be entrusted in the hands of Ambitious, Covetous, and malicious men, it would prove of far more fatal consequence unto the lives and safety of mankind, then that ancient Heathenish custome of Sacrificing men unto Idol Gods; insomuch, that we stand in need of another *Hercules liberator*, who as the former freed the world from humane Sacrifices, should in like manner travel from Country to Country, and by his all-commanding Authority, free it from this evil and base custome of torturing people to confess themselves Witches, and burning them after extorted Confessions. Surely, the blood of men ought not to be so cheap, nor so easily to be shed, by such who under the Name of God, do gratifie
exorbitant

exorbitant passions and selfish ends; for without question, under this side Heaven, there is nothing so sacred as the life of man, for the preservation whereof, all Policies or Forms of Government, all Laws and Magistrates, are most especially ordained. Wherefore I presume, that this discourse of mine, attempting to prove the vanity and impossibility of Witchcraft, is so far from any deserved censure and blame, that it rather deserves commendation and praise, if I can but in the least measure contribute to the saving of the lives of men.

*Sensitive to the feelings of the
And to a great measure
this is the only way to
I should be glad to see
by the way, Baker's Journal
with Van Dale
de Origine Regis Superstitio*

BY way of Appendage to
the preceding Discourse,
I thought to have translated
one of Lucian's Dialogues,
called Lovers of Lyes; but
being informed that it was
already translated, I only or-
dered the Book-seller to Re-
print it: Nor can it chuse but
please the Reader, to see that
the World is the same world
still; and that fifteen hundred
years ago, men had the same
humours and thoughts, in re-
lation to the question in hand,
as they have now adayes:

G

For

For between some men now
alive, and those whom the
incomparable wit describes
in his Ingenious Dialogue,
there is no difference to be
perceived, but only this, that
they in the Dialogue did
wear long beards, whereas
now 'tis the fashion to cut the
beard off, or at least to cut it
very short.

•ΙΑΟΥΤ'ΔΕΙΣ.

Lovers of LIES.

A DIALOGUE

made by the Famous

LUCIAN.

*The Speakers, Tychiades and
Philocles.*

Tychiades. **C**AN you tell me the reason, *Philocles*, why most men desire to lye, and delight not only to speak fictions themselves, but give busie attention to others who do?

Philocles. There be many reasons, *Tychiades*, which compell some men to speak untruths, because they see 'tis profitable.

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Tychiades.

Lucian's Dialogue.

Tychiades. This is nothing to the purpose. My question concern'd not them who lye for profit : for such deserve pardon, and some praise, who have thereby defeated their enemies, and used it as a preservative against dangers ; like *Ulysses*, who by such flights secured his own life, and the return of his companions. But I now speak of those, who prefer the very Lye before Truth, and take pleasure to busie themselves in Fables, without any necessary judgment. I would fain know what motives such men have to do so.

Philocles. Have you met with any born with such a natural love to lying?

Tychiades. There are many such.

Philocles. What other motive can they have not to speak truth, but their madness ? Else certainly, they would never prefer the worst thing before the best.

Tychiades.

Lucian's Dialogue.

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Tychiades. This is nothing; since I can show you many of great discretion and wisdom in other things, who yet are Captives to this delusion, and love of lyes. Nor am I a little troubled to see men of excellent judgement in other things, take delight to deceive themselves and others. You cannot but know those Ancients better then I, *Herodotus*, *Ctesias* the *Cnidian*, and the Poets before them, *Homer* especially; All men of great name, whose writings are stored with fictions. So that they not only deceived their hearers then, but have conveyd their lies to us also in a preserved succession of excellent Poetry and Verses. I cannot, therefore, but blush for them, as often as they speak of a Schisme in Heaven, of *Prometheus* chains, the Gyants Insurrection, and the whole Tragedy of Hell. How *Jupiter*, also, for love became a Bull or Swan; and how a woman was transform'd into a Fowl

or Bear. Besides their *Pegasus's*, *Chimæra's*, *Gorgon's*, *Cyclop's*, and the like strange prodigious fables, fit only to recreate the minds of Children, who yet fear Goblins, and Fayries. But these are things tolerable in Poets. How ridiculous is it that whole Cities and Nations should unanimously agree in a publick lye? Thus the *Cretans* are not ashamed to show *Jupiters Tomb*. The *Athenians* say, that *Erichonius* grew from the earth; and that the first people of *Attica* sprung from thence, like Coleworts. Yet these speak much modestlier then the *Thebans*, who derive themselves from a Serpents teeth sown. Yet he who takes not such ridiculous fictions for true, but upon discreet examination thinks it proper only for a *Coræbus*, or *Margites*, to believe that *Triptolemus* was carried through the Air by winged Dragons; or that *Pan* came assistant to
the

the *Greeks* from *Arcadia* into *Marathon*; or that *Orithyia* was ravish'd by *Boreas*; is held irreligious and foolish, for dissenting from such clear and evident truths. So powerful is a received lye.

Philocles. Yet both Poets, *Tychiades*, and Cities are thus excusable, that the one mingle fictions with their writings, the better to take their readers. The *Athenians*, *Thebans*, and other Countries, make their beginnings more majestick, from such fabulous Originals. Besides, should all fiction be banish'd *Greece*, how many reporters would dye of Famine? Since none there are patient to hear truth spoken gratis. In my judgment, therefore, they who delight in lyes, for no other reason, but because they are lyes, are most deservedly to be laugh'd at.

Tychiades. You say true. I now came from the learned *Eucrates*,

where I heard many things fabulous, and incredible ; or rather leaving them in the midst of their discourses, impatient of narrations so much beyond belief, like so many Hobgoblins they scared me away with their prodigies and wonders.

Philocles. *Eucrates, Tychiades*, is a man of credit, nor can I believe that one of so deep a beard, of the age of threescore, and of such continued study in Philosophy, should endure to hear another feign in his presence; much less that he should offer to feign himself.

Tychiades. You know not, my friend, what lyes he told, how constantly he affirmed them, and mingled Oathes with his fictions, and produced his children for witnesses. So that I looking upon him, thought variously ; sometimes that he was mad, and beside himself ; sometimes that being a cheater he had long scape't my discovery ; and had carried

ried about a contemptible Ape in a Lyons shape : so absurd were his discourses.

Philocles. In the name of *Vesta*, what were they, *Tychiades* ? I long to know what cosenage he could disguise with so long a beard.

Tychiades. I usually, at other times, when I had leisure, *Tychiades*, visited him. But to day having occasion to speak with *Leontichus*, (who as you know, is my intimate friend) and being told by his boy, that he was early in the morning gone to visit *Eucrates*, who lay sick, as well to meet *Leontichus*, as to see him, (of whose sickness I was till then ignorant) I went thither, where I found not *Leontichus*, (who as they said, was newly departed) but a crowd of others ; Among whom was *Cleodemus* the Peripatetic, *Dinomachus* the Stoick, and *Ion* ; you know him ; he that is so admired for *Plato's* discourses, as if
he

he onely understood exactly his meaning, and were able to be his interpreter to others. You see what men I name to you ; All Sages, famed for vertue, heads of their several sects ; All venerable, and carrying an awfull terrour in their looks. There was present also *Antigonus* the Physitian, sent for, I suppose, out of necessity of the disease. Though *Eucrates* seemed to be much upon the recovery, and his sickness not dangerous. For the humour was again fallen into his feet. As soon as *Eucrates* saw me, remitting his voice, he feebly bad me sit down by him on the bed : whom, as I entred, I heard lowd and shrill. I very careful not to touch his feet, and using the accustomed complement, that I knew not of his sickness, but upon the first intimation came post, sat near him. The discourse of the company was concerning his disease, of which they had

in part already spoken; and were then going on, each severally to prescribe a several medicine, and cure. Take up from the ground, said *Cleodemus*, with your left hand the tooth of a weefil, so kill'd as I said before, bind it in a Lyons skin, newly flead, then wrap it about your leggs, and your pain will presently cease. 'Tis not in a Lyons skin, as I have heard, said *Dinomachus*, but in a Virgin Hindes skin unbuckt; And so the receit is more probable: For a Deer is swift, and most strong of feet. A Lyon, indeed, is strong, and his fat, and right paw, and the stiff hairs of his beard are of great vertue, if one know how to apply them every one with his proper charm. But they promise small cure of the gout. I also, once thought, said *Cleodemus*, that a Stags skin was to be used for his fleetnesse; but since a certain wise *Lybian* hath me taught otherwise, and told me that

Lyons

Lyons are swifter then Bucks ; for they, said he, catch these in hunting. The rest praised his reason, as well delivered by the *Lybian*. Then said I, do you think such diseases, as this, are cured by charms, or that an inward malady is eased by an outward spell ? Whereat they smiled, and seemed much to condemn my silliness, as not knowing a thing so received, and not gainsaid, or disproved by any understanding man. *Antigonus* the Physitian seemed pleased with my question ; who, it seems was formerly neglected in his offers to cure *Eucrates* by the prescriptions of his Art ; which enjoyn'd him to abstain from wine, to eat herbs, and to study more remissly. *Cleodemus*, in the mean time, smiling, replied, saying, do you think it incredible, *Tychiades*, that such spells should be of power to cure diseases ? I do, said I. Nor am I of so gross a sense, to believe that such outward receipts, which

which have no affinity with the springs and causes of the infirmity within, should work, by charm, as you pretend, or by Imposture; or upon their bare application should instill cures. A thing not to be effected, though one should bind sixteen whole weefils in the *Nemean* Lyons skin. I have often seen a Lyon halt, and go lame with pain in his whole skin. You are a very puny, said *Dinomachus*, and have not learnt to know what power such spels have over diseases. Nor seem to me to understand the expulsion of periodical feavers, the charming of Serpents, and asswaging of botches, and other things performed by every old woman. All which being frequently done, why should you think cures of this nature impossible? You pile too much, *Dinomachus*, said I, and according to the proverb, drive out one nail with another. Nor doth it appear, that the things you speak of,
are

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are by such power effected. If, therefore, you prove not to me first by reason, that 'tis naturally possible that a feaver, or blayn, should be frightened with a divine name, or barbarous spell, and thereupon forsake the place swoln, you have but hitherto utter'd old wives tales. Thus saying, said *Dinomachus*, you seem not to believe there are Gods; since you think it beyond the power of their names to work cures. Say not so, Good Sir, quoth I, for there may without impediment be Gods, and yet your prescriptions may be deceitful and false. I adore the Gods, and behold their cures, and recoveries of sick people by regular medicines and Physick. *Æsculapius*, and his followers heal'd the diseased by wholesome prescriptions, not by the application of Lyons and Weefils. Let him enjoy his opinion, said *Ion*, I will report to you a miraculous passage. When I was a Boy, about the

the age of fourteen years, one came and told my father, that *Midas* his Vinedresser, a stout industrious servant, about the time of full market lay stung of a Serpent, which presently gangren'd his leg. For as he was bending a vine, and winding it about a pole, the Snake crept to him, and biting him by the great toe, presently slipt away, and retired into a hole; Whereupon he cryed out, and was ready to expire with pain. In the close of the relation we saw *Midas* himself, brought by his fellow servants in a chair, swoln all over, discolour'd, in appearance rankled, and scarce able to breath. My father being much grieved, a certain friend of his, there present, said, Take courage, Sir, I will presently fetch a *Chaldean*, who shall cure him. Not to be tedious, the *Babylonian* came, restored *Midas*, and drew the venom from his body by a charm, and by the application of

of a stone, cut from the pillar of a deceased Virgin, to his feet; and, which is yet more. *Midas* rising from the chair, in which he was brought, went back into the field; so powerfull was the charm, and the stone taken from the tomb. Among his many other miracles, which he wrought, he went one morning early into a field, where having pronounced seven certain sacred names, taken out of an ancient book, and purged the place with brimstone and taper, and walkt it thrice round, he assembled to him all the Serpents of the country: So that drawn by force of the charm came many Snakes, Aspes, Vipers, Efts, Dartars, Lizards and Toades; only one ancient Dragon was left behind, who for age, I believe, and not being able to crawle disobey'd the spell. Whereupon, all are not here, saith the Magician, and presently selecting one of the youngest Serpents

sen

sent him Embassadour to the Dragon. Who not long after came also. When they were all assembled, the *Babylonian* puffed upon them, and presently to our astonishment they were all burnt with his breath. Then said I, pray tell me *Ion*, did the young Serpent Embassadour lead the old, or did he support himself by a staff? You are merry, said *Cleodemus*. I was once as great an Infidel in these things as you are now, and saw no reason to believe them; yet when I beheld the *Barbarian* stranger fly, (who as they report came from the North) I was convinced into a belief against my inclination. For what should I do, when I saw him carried in the Air, walking upon the water, and in a slow and leisurely motion pass through the fire? But did you, said I, see a Northern man fly, or walk upon the water? Most certainly, replied he, shod with pumps, after the manner of his Country. I

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forbear

forbear to speak of his smaller performances, his infusion of love, expulsion of Devils, raising of the dead long buried, publick presentment of *Hecate*, and drawing down the Moon from Heaven. I will only report to you what I saw him do for *Glaucias*, the Son of *Anaxicles*. *Glaucias* no sooner began to inherit his dead fathers estate, but he fell in love with *Chrysis*, *Demanetus* daughter. I was Tutor to his studies. Who, had not love diverted him, had by this time learnt all the Peripatetick Sciences, since being but eighteen years old he had already gone over the *Analyticks*, and past through *Aristotles* *Phyicks* to the end. Thus perplexed with love, he revealed himself to me; who being his Tutor, as it became me, brought this Northern Magician to him, hired for four Crowns in hand (which were to buy things for the sacrifice) and sixteen more when *Glaucias* enjoy'd *Chrysis*. He
observing

observing the Moons increase, (the proper time for such enchantments) and having digged a hole in the house yard, about midnight, first call'd up to us *Anaxicles*, *Glaucias* father, dead seven months before. The old man storm'd, and raged at his Sons love, but in conclusion gave license to his affection. Next, he rais'd up *Hecate*, who brought *Cerberus* with her. Then he call'd down the Moon, a various spectacle, by reason of her diverse appearances, and changes. For first she resembled in countenance a woman, then she was transform'd into a beautiful Cow, then into a little dog. After this, fashioning a little *Cupid* of Clay, Go, said he, and fetch *Chrysis* hither. The Clay presently flew away, and shortly after she came and knockt at the door, and at her first entrance embraced *Glaucias*, show'd her self distractedly enamour'd, and accompanied him till we heard the Cocks

crow. Then the Moon flew to Heaven, *Hecate* sunk into the earth, the Apparitions vanished; and we about day break let *Chrysis* depart. Had you seen this, *Tychiades*, you would not long distrust the force of charms. You say well, said I, I would indeed believe this, had I seen it: But am otherwise to be pardon'd, if at such visions I be not as quick-sighted as you. As for the *Chrysis*, you speak of, I know her to be an easie amorous woman. Nor do I perceive any need why you should employ an earthen Embassadour to her, or trouble a Magician from the North, or the Moon, for the affection of one whom for twenty drams you may draw as far as the North-pole, being a woman so readily prepared to meet your Incantations: Though she be thus unlike your apparitions. For they (as you report) at the sound of Brass, or Iron, vanish: But she no sooner hears Silver,

ver, but she runs to the sound. Besides, I cannot but wonder at the Magician, that being able to inforce love towards himself in the women of greatest wealth, and thereby draw whole talents from them, he should for the inconsiderable price of four Crowns procure affection for *Glaucias*. 'Tis folly in you, said *Ion*, to believe nothing. I would fain ask you, what you think of them who have deliver'd Dæmoniacs from their possessions, and have evidently charm'd forth their Devils. I need not tell you how many the *Syrian*, who came from *Palestine*, a man skill'd in such Arts, hath restored after they have fall'n down *Lunatick*, stared with their eyes, and foamed at mouth, and hath sent them away cured, and releast them, for great sums, of their distempers. For standing by them as they lye, he asks the evil spirit from whence he entred into the body.

The poſſeſt perſon, mean time, is ſpeechleſs, and the Devil replying in *Greek*, or ſome barbarous Language, tells from whence he is, and how he entred the man; whereupon he by adjuration and threats, if he offered to diſobey, caſts him out. I ſaw a Devil caſt out black, and of the colour of ſoot. No marvaile *Ion*, ſaid I, that you ſaw ſuch viſions; *Plato* the father of your ſect hath taught you to ſee *Ideas*, a ſpectacle too refined, and ſubtle, for our dull ſenſe. Many others, as well as you, *Ion*, ſaid *Eucrates*, have met with Devils, ſome by night, others by day; I have, not once, but a thouſand times ſeen ſuch *Spectrums*; and was at firſt frightened with them; but cuſtome hath at length made them not ſtrange, or unfamiliar; eſpecially ſince an *Arabian* gave me a ring, made of the iron taken from a croſs, and taught me an ambiguous, di-
verſe ſenſed charm, unleſs you reſuſe

to give credit to me also, *Tychiades*.
How can I choose, said I, but believe
Encrates, the son of *Dino*, especially
being so wise a man, and having the
freedom to speak what you please
with authority in your own house?
Hear some passages of a statue of
mine, then said *Encrates*, which
nightly appears to all my family,
both men and maids, who can wit-
ness so much to you, as well as I. Of
which of your Statues, said I? Did
you not observe at your entrance,
said he, a fair Statue standing in my
Hall, the work of *Demetrius*, the
Statuarie. Do you mean the Quoiter,
said I, who stands wryed in a
Gesture ready to deliver, with his
quoit hand reverst, and one knee
bent, as if he meant to vary posture,
and rise with his throw? Not him,
said he; the Quoiter you speak of
is one of *Myrons* pieces. Nor do I
mean the fair Statue next to him,
filletted about the head with a bend;

which is a piece of *Polycletus's*. You are also to pass over those which stand on the right hand as you enter; among whom are the Tyrant slayers, carved by *Critias Nesiota*. Did you not mark the statue by the conveyance of water, with the big belly, bald, half naked, part of the hairs of his beard pluckt off, of huge sinews, and every way resembling a man? *I* mean *Pelichus*, he who is so like a *Corinthian* Captain. *I* saw such a one, said *I*, on the right hand of *Saturn*, having a wither'd wreath, and fillet on his head, and guilt plates on his breast; *I*, said *Eucrates*, caused them to be guilt, after he had in three dayes cured me of a desperate feaver. Was the famous *Pelichus*, then, a Physitian, said *I*? He is now, and take heed how you scoff at him, said *Eucrates*; least he shortly take revenge of you. *I* know the power of the Statue you laugh at; do you think he cannot as well inflict a feaver,

ver, as expell one? Be so powerful a Statue, propitious, and merciful to me, said I : pray, what else have your family seen him do? As soon as it begins to be night, said he, descending from his Pedestall, he walks round the house; all my servants have often met him singing : he hurts none that give him way, but passeth by them without disturbance; he washeth himself much, and playes all night, as we guess by the noise of the water. Consider, said I, whether your Statue be *Pelliclus*, or *Talus* the *Cretan*, who lived with *Minos*, whose brazen Statue was Centinel and guardian of the Country. Were he not made of Copper, but wood, I should probably think he were not the workmanship of *Demetrius*, but one of *Dædalus* motions. For you say, he frequently walks from his Basis. Beware, *Tychiades*, said he, you be not hereafter sorry for your flouts. I could

could tell you what he suffer'd who stole the farthings, which we every New Moon offer to him. The punishment of such a sacriledge must needs be direful, said *Ion*. Pray what was it *Eucrates*? I desire to hear, how incredulous soever *Tychiades* be. Many farthings, said he, lay at his feet, and some other Silver coyns were fastened with wax to his knees, Besides diverse Silver Plates, offer'd to him by the devotion and gratitude of those whom he had recovered from feavers. A servant of mine, a *Lybian*, one of my Grooms, perceiving the Statue one night absent, adventured to steal his Oblations. Observe how *Peliebus*, finding himself at his return robbed, revenged himself, and bewrayed the thief: Who all night walkt up and down the Hall in a Circle, unable, like one faln into a Labyrinth to get out; till next morning he was apprehended with his stealths about him, and pro-

proportionably whipt. Nor did he live long after, but dyed miserably, beaten every night, as he said, and confirm'd it with the marks seen in his body next day. Now, if please you, *Tychiades*, said *Eucrates*, laugh at *Pelichus*, and me, for a Doter of *Mino's* time. Certainly *Eucrates*, said I, as long as Brass is Brass, and your statue but the creature of *Demetrius*, the *Alopecian*, who carved not Gods, but men, I shall not fear the image of your *Pelichus*, nor much care for the threats of the original, were he alive. Here *Antigonus*, the Physitian, seconding him said, I, *Eucrates*, have also a brazen *Hippocrates*, about a cubit long, which, as soon as the Candles are put out, walks circularly through all the house, making a noyse, overturning boxes, compounding medicines, and flinging open doors; especially if we omit to pay him his yearly sacrifice. Doth *Hippocrates* the Physitian, then require

require to be sacrificed to, said I, and take it ill if he be not feasted with Oblations at his set times? Methinks 'twere honour enough to pour wine to him, or crown him with Garlands. Hear another passage, said *Euclates*, which I with many other witnesses saw about five years past. One harvest time, having dispatcht my reapers about noon into the field, I solitarily retired my self into a wood, to weigh and consider of some things. Where, at my first entrance, I heard the howling of dogs, which I imagined to be my Son *Manson*, going then abroad, as his manner is, with his Companions to sport themselves, and hunt. But 'twas otherwise: for presently after followed an Earthquake, and a hideous bel-
lowing like thunder. After this I saw a woman coming towards me of horrible aspect, and near half a furlong tall, having in her left hand a Torch, in her right a Sword, at least
twenty

twenty cubits long. She had downward feet like a Serpent, upwards in the horreur of her countenance and visage, she resembled a Gorgon, having Snakes for hair, which partly twind about her neck, others hung loose on her shoulders. See, my good friends, said *Eucrates*, how I yet tremble to tell the story; and withall show'd us the hairs on his armes stiff, and erected with fear. *Ion*, all the while and *Dinomachus* and *Cleodemus*, ancient men, gave him serious attention, as if drawn by the nose, and exprest a silent adoration of the incredible *Colossus* - half-furlong-woman, Gyant-like Hobgoblin. But I consider'd with my self, that such men as they, who read wisdom to young schollars, and were generally admired, differ'd only from children in their gray hairs and long beards, and were in all things else more easie to be deceived then they. Here *Dinomachus* put in, and said, pray tell me

me, *Eucrates*, of what size and bigness were her hounds? Bigger then *Indian Elephants*, replied he, and alike black, their skin as rough, squalid and fowl. I, when I saw them, stood still, and withall turn'd the seal of the ring which the *Arabian* gave me to the inside of my finger. Whereupon *Hecate* striking the ground with her serpentine feet, made a great cleft, which reacht to Hell, into which she sunk by degrees. *I* assuming courage, and taking hold of a neighbouring tree, least astonisht with the darkness *I* should chance to fall in headlong, lookt in, and saw all the things of Hell; the burning Lake of *Phlegeton*, *Cerberus*, and Ghosts; some of which *I* knew, especially my father, whom *I* saw in the very garments we buried him. Pray, *Eucrates* said *Ion*, what did the souls departed do? What should they do, answer'd he, but converse in companies and societies with their

Lucian's Dialogue.

III

their friends, and Allies, in the Daffodil mead? Henceforth, then said *Ion*, let the followers of *Epicurus* urge arguments against *Plato*, and his discourses of the soul. But did you not see *Socrates* and *Plato* among the dead? *Socrates*, replied he, *I* saw, but not more clearly then to guesse at him by his baldness and strutting belly. *Plato* *I* knew not, nor is't fit *I* speak more then truth to my friends. After *I* had taken an exact and universal survey of things, the vault closed, and some of my servants, of which my man *Pyrrhias* here was one, came thither to seek me before 'twas quite shut. Speak *Pyrrhias*, do *I* say true? Most true, by *Jupiter*, Sir, said the fellow, for *I* my self heard the barking of the dogs through the Cave, and saw the flashes of the Torch. Here *I* smiled to hear the howling, and flames put in by the witnesses. You have seen nothing strange, said *Cleodemus*, or
what

what hath not been seen by others. For *I*, in my sickness, not long since, saw the like apparition. At which time *Antigonus* here visited me, and gave me seven dayes Physick for a Feaver, more hot and violent then fire. One day all left the room, shut the door, and stay'd without, by your prescription, *Antigonus*; if perchance solitariness might entice me into a slumber. But *I*, lying awake, saw a goodly youth approach me, clothed in white; who after he had raised me, lead me through such another cleft down to Hell; as *I* presently perceived, when *I* beheld *Tantalus*, *Tytius* and *Sisyphus*. What need *I* report to you the rest? Briefly, *I* was brought to a Tribunal, where were present *Æacus*, *Charon*, the Destinies and Furies. Where also one sat as King, who seemed to be *Pluto*, by his reading of a Catalogue of their names who were to dye, and had already out-lived their

limi-

limited time. The young man brought me, and presented me to him. But *Pluto* much displeased, said to him, his thread is not yet quite spun, let him therefore depart again. And fetch *Demylus* the Bra-
sier, who hath exceeded his distaff. Whereupon I joyfully return'd, re-
least of my feaver, and told all my neighbours, that *Demylus* was short-
ly to dye. Who then also lay sick,
as 'twas reported. And shortly after
we heard the cryes of them that la-
mented his death. What miracle is
this? Said *Antigonus*. I knew one,
who after he had been buried twen-
ty dayes, rose again: For I gave him
Phylick before his death, and after
his resurrection. Methinks, said I,
in twenty dayes his body should pu-
trifie or perish with famine. Unless
you administred to an *Epimenides*.
As we thus discourst, came in *Eucra-
tes* Sons from exercise. One a grown
youth, the other about the age of

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fifteen.

fifteen; Who having saluted us, sat down upon the bed by their father; and a chair was brought for me. Here *Eucrates* taking fresh hint from the presence of his Sons, said, so may I have Comfort of these two, (and laid his hands on them) as that which I shall now tell you *Tychiades* is true. 'Tis well known how dearly I lov'd my wife, the mother of these, of happy memory; which I exprest both in my carriage to her while she lived, and after her death: For I burnt with her, her whole wardrobe, and the garments she most delighted in when she lived. The seventh day after her funeral, I lay in this bed, as I do now, having abated my sorrow. And silently reading to my self *Plato's* little tract of the soul, *Demanete* entred, and sate down by me, as *Eucratides* (pointing to his younger Son) doth now. The boy childishly trembled, and waxt pale at the narration. I, proceeded

ceeded *Eucrates*, as soon as I beheld her, imbraced her and sobbingly shed tears. She permitted me not to weep, but blamed me, that after all my other expressions of affection to her, I had not burnt one of her guilt pantofles, which, she said, was fallen down behind a chest; which we not finding, cast only the other into the funeral pile. As we thus talkt, an unhappy dog which I loved, lying upon the bed barkt, at which sound she vanisht. Afterwards we found the slipper under the Chest, and burnt it. Can you still doubt *Tychiades*, of truths so manifest, and every day apparent? By *Jove*, said I, they deserve to be clapt with a guilt Sandal, like children, who do not believe you, or impudently question the truth. Here *Arignotus*, the *Pythagorean*, entred, a man of long hair, and venerable aspect. You know he is famous for his wisdom, and Sirnamed the Sacred; I was something

I 2 thing

thing relieved with his sight, and according to the Proverb, thought I had now got an Axe against lies. For certainly, said I to my self, this wise man will stop their mouthes from reporting any more such prodigies. In a word, I thought fortune had unexpectedly sent some God to my succour. He sitting down in a place which *Cleodemus* resigned to him, first enquired of *Eucrates* his disease, and being informed how he did, askt us what we discoursd of; for as I entred, said he, methought I heard you busied in an excellent subject. We were perswading this man of Adamant, said *Eucrates*, pointing at me, to believe there were Devils. And that the shades and souls of men departed, did wander up and down the earth, and appear to whom they pleased. I could not choose but blush, and fix my look to the ground, out of reverence to *Asignotus*. Perchance *Eucrates*, said he,

he, *Tychiades* holds that their Souls only do walk who dyed violently, namely such as were strangled, beheaded, crucified, or the like; and that those who dye naturally walk not. If this be his opinion, he is not to be blamed. No such matter, replied *Dinomachus*, he neither holds that there are such things, or that they were ever seen. How say you Sir, said *Arignotus*, looking frowningly upon me, do you deny such apparitions as are visible to all? You must pardon my infidelity, said I, who never saw any. If I had, I should believe as you do. If ever you go to *Corinth*, said he, ask for the house of *Eubatides*, and when 'tis shown you, by the *Græneum*, enter, and tell *Tibius* the Porter, you desire to see the place from whence *Arignotus* the *Pythagorean* conjured away the Devil, and rendred the house habitable. May we request the whole story? Replied *Eucrates*.

The house, said he, being haunted, was of a long time undwelt in. If any did adventure to inhabit it, they were scared, and persecuted away by a horrid and dismal Apparition; so that it began to fall to ruine, and the roof to drop; nor had any man the courage to enter into it. When I heard hereof, carrying with me certain *Ægyptian* Books (of which I have store upon such Arguments) I went to the house about the first sleep, much dissuaded, and almost violently restrained by mine Host, after he knew whither I meant to go; verily supposing I went to my destruction. Notwithstanding, I taking a Taper with me entred the house alone, and placing the link in the great hall, and my self on the floor, read silently to my self. In comes the Devil, thinking he was to deal with some vulgar fellow, and hoping to fright me like others. A rough, shaggy fiend, and blacker then darkness

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it self. At his first appearance he try-
ed, by making an orbicular assault,
to vanquish me, and sometimes
turn'd himself into a dog, then into
a Bull, lastly into a Lyon. But *I* hav-
ing a direful Spell in readiness, which
I pronounced in the *Ægyptick*
tongue, charm'd him back into a
dark corner of the house. And hav-
ing well observed the place where
he sunk, *I* left speaking. In the
morning, after every bodies despair,
who thought to find me slain, like
others, *I*, against the expectation,
came forth and went to *Eubatides*;
And told him the glad news, that
he might safely inhabit his house,
which was now purged and freed
from Devils. Withall taking him,
and many others (who followed out
of curiosity) along with me to the
place where *I* saw the fiend vanish,
I commanded it to be digged with
pickaxes and spades. We had not
digged above a yard deep, but we

found a dead man, consumed, and
 and nothing left to represent him but
 the Skeleton, which we took up
 and buried. And from that time the
 house ceased to be molested with
 visions. When *Arignotus* had finisht
 his narration, being a man of pro-
 digious wisdom, and generally re-
 verenced, there were not any of the
 company who did not condemn me
 of stupidity for being incredulous.
 Nevertheless, I neither daunted
 with his beard, nor their opinion of
 him, said, can such a man as you,
Arignotus, from whom alone I ho-
 ped to hear the truth, be fraught
 also with fumes and phantasmes?
 you have verified the Proverb, I
 have found coales for treasure. If,
 said, *Arignotus*, you neither believe
 me, nor *Dinomachus*, nor *Cleodemus*,
 nor *Eucrates*, whom can you produce
 more Authentick to disprove us? A
 man much admired, said I, *Democri-*
us the *Abderite*. Who was so smal-

ly perswaded of such fictions, that shutting himself up in a monument without the City, he there lived, wrote, and composed nights and days. And when certain boys, desirous to scare and fright him, arrayed themselves like Ghosts in black Garments, and wearing counterfeited vizards on their heads, surrounded him, and frequently skipt about him, he neither feared their disguises, nor at all regarded them, but wrote on, and bid them cease to play the fools. So firmly did he believe, that Souls were nothing after their departure from the body. Certainly, replied *Eucrates*, *Democritus* was the veryer fool to think so. I will therefore report one story more, in which my self was an Actor, and took it not up upon relation. Perchance when you hear it, *Tychiades*, the truth of the narration will convince you. When I lived in *Ægypt*, yet a boy, sent thither by my father, to learn their Arts, I had a
desire

desire to sail to *Coptus*, and from
 thence to hear the famous *Memnon*
 sound at the rising of the Sun. Whom
 I heard, not as others ordinarily do
 yield an insignificant sound; but
Memnon himself utter'd Oracles to
 me, and open'd his mouth in seven
 verses. Which, but that I should dig-
 ress, I would repeat to you. As we
 were at Sea, there sayled in company
 with us a certain holy Priest of *Mem-*
phis, admired for his wisdom, and
 skill'd in all the learning of the *Aegy-*
ptians. He was said to have lived 320
 years in a Cave under ground, and
 there to have learnt Magick of *Isis*.
 You mean my Tutor *Panocrates*, re-
 plied *Anignotus*, he is a religious
 man, shaven, goes in linnen, is very
 learned, speaks *Greek* purely, is tall
 of stature, hath a bow nose, full lips,
 and small legs. The very same an-
 swer'd *Eucrates*. At first I knew not
 who he was. But when I saw him,
 after our arrival in the Port, among
 many

many other miracles which he wrought, ride upon Crocodiles, approach such cruel beasts, and they to reverence him, and wag their tayls, I guessed him to be some sacred person; And by degrees insinuated myself into his acquaintance and friendship. So that at length he revealed all his secrets and mysteries to me. To be short, he perswaded me to leave all my servants at *Ademphis*, and to accompany him alone; who promised we should not want attendants. And from that time thus we lived. When we came into an Inn, he taking the bolt of the door, or a broom or bar, and clothing it, spoke a charm to it, and enabled it to go, and in all things to resemble a man. The thing going forth, would draw water, provide, and dress our supper, and diligently wait and attend upon us. After his business was done, he pronounced another charm, and turn'd the broom into a broom again, and

and the pestle into a pestle. This was an Art, which though I labour'd much, I could not learn of him. For this was a mystery which he denyed me, though in all things else he were open. One day, hiding myself in a dark corner, I overheard his charm, which was but three syllables. He having appointed the bolt its business, went into the market. The next day, he having some other employment in the market, I taking the pestle, and apparelling it, in like manner pronounced the syllables, and bid it fetch me some water. When it had brought me a bason full, 'tis enough, said I, fetch no more, but be a pestle again. But it was so far from obeying me, that it ceas'd not to fetch water till it had overflown the room. I, much troubled at the accident, and fearing least if *Panocrates* should return (as he did) he would be much displeased, took an Axe and cut the pestle in two. Then both parts taking

king several buckets fetch water. And instead of one, I had two servants. In the mean time *Panocrates* came in, and perceiving what had happen'd, transform'd them into wood again, as they were before I utter'd the spell. Shortly after he secretly left me, and vanishing went I know not whither. And can you now said *Dinomachus*, make a man of a bolt? I have but one half of the Art replied he, nor am I able to return him into his former shape: if therefore, I once make him a water-bearer, we shall be driven from the house by a deluge. Will you old men, said I, never leave to speak monstrous fictions? if for no other reason, yet for these young boyes sakes, forbear your improbable and terrible narrations till some other time, least they be insensibly fill'd with uncouth affrightments and fables. Accustome them not to hear things which will make impressions,
and

and trouble them all their life; make them start at every sound, and fill them with diverse superstitions. You do well, said *Eucrates*, to put me in mind of superstition. Pray what think you of Oracles, *Tychiades*, and Predictions and Prophecies, utter'd by people inspired, and heard from Curtains, or delivered in verse by a Virgin, which foretells things to come? Cannot these things fall under your belief neither? I forbear to tell you that I have a sacred ring whose seal bears the image of *Apollo*, and that the God himself frequently talks with me; least you should think I fain this of my self, out of arrogance, I will only tell you what I saw and heard from *Amphilochus* at *Mal-lus*, who entertained me with a long discourse, and consulted the Oracle concerning my affairs. Next I will report to you what I saw at *Pergamus*, and heard at *Patara*. When I sail'd homeward from *Ægypt*, being inform'd

inform'd that there was an open, infallible Oracle at *Mallus*, which verbatim gave clear answers to every mans inquiries, written in a note, and deliver'd to his Priest, I thought I should do well, as I say I'd by, to try the Oracle, and consult the God concerning my future fortunes. I by this entrance perceiving that *Eucrates* was likely to lengthen his story, and that he had begun no very compendious discourse of Oracles, and not holding it fit to contradict them longer, leaving him sailing from *Ægypt* to *Mallus* (for I saw them discontented with my presence, as an opposer of their fictions) I will take my leave, said I, and go seek *Leontichus*; For I have urgent occasion to meet with him. You, who think humane passages not sufficient, have the liberty to call the Gods into your fabulous discourses. And having so said, I departed. They, glad of their freedom, in likelihood entertained and feasted themselves with im-

stures. I, cloy'd with what I heard, am come to you *Philocles*, just like those who having drunk new wine, and swoln their belly, have need to vomit : I would give any money for a potion of oblivion to make me forget, and to wash away the mischievous remembrance of what I heard. Who still, methinks, see monsters, Devils, and *Hecates*.

Philocles. I also, suffer'd in your relations, *Tychiad*. For they say, that they not only grow distracted, and fear the water, who are bitten by mad dogs, but if the man bitten bite another, 'tis equal to the bite of a dog, and begets the like distemper, so you having been bitten by *Eucrates* fictions, have bitten me also, and filled my fancy with Devils.

Tychiades. However let us take courage, since we have an excellent Antidote to cure us, truth, and right reason: Which if we make our rule, we shall be troubled with no such empty and vain falsehoods.

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